

SIXTY-SECOND  
ANNUAL REPORT  
  
OF THE  
  
HAWAIIAN  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR  
1953



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HONOLULU, HAWAII  
PUBLISHED, 1954

*The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."*

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# THE HAWAIIAN DICTIONARIES, PAST AND FUTURE

SAMUEL H. ELBERT

THIS STUDY INCLUDES an account of eleven Hawaiian word lists compiled by explorers, travelers, and missionaries before the establishment of the present Hawaiian orthography in 1829, and of eight more impressive works that deserve to rank as Hawaiian dictionaries compiled after that date. Then follows a discussion of the present Hawaiian dictionary being prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui and myself, to be published by the University of Hawaii Press, with funds appropriated by the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii in May 1952.

This investigation of past work on Hawaiian lexicons has been greatly facilitated by the generous cooperation of many persons who have shared their special information and their enthusiasm. Among them are Bernice Judd of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Willowdean C. Handy of the Hawaiian Historical Society Library, Janet Bell of the University of Hawaii Library, Margaret Titcomb of the Bishop Museum Library, Maude Jones of the Territory of Hawaii Archives, and Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall of the University of Hawaii, who suggested the study and has kindly read the manuscript.

The new modern library that shelters the collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and the Hawaiian Historical Society, is an inspiring place in which to study the treasures of the past. Hawaiian sunshine streams through the open doors of the reading room. The old Mission house stands nearby in the neatly tended yard. Just across the street is Kawaiaha'o Church, and the cemetery where many of the missionaries are buried. The past seems very close.

## WORD LISTS, 1778-1828

Eleven vocabularies of some importance were collected between the time of Cook's voyage in 1778 and the establishment of the orthography in 1829. Of these, three are by Britishers, two by Frenchmen, one each by a Spanish-American, a Russian, a Hawaiian, an American, and an Italian; and one the combined work of an American and an Englishman.

The spelling in these lists reflects the orthographic backgrounds of the compilers, and is characterized by use of a single symbol to represent different sounds (as *o* for both *o* and *u*), by different symbols for a single sound (as *c* and *k* for *k*, or *ay* and *y* for *ai*), and by nearly unanimous omission of symbols for the glottal stops and long vowels. This orthographic confusion impresses upon the investigator the extent of our indebtedness to the missionaries, who were able later to achieve a spelling that was so nearly phonemic. But in spite of the orthographic inconsistencies and variations, most of the words in these lists are recognizable today. They show that the Hawaiian language has not

changed immeasurably since that earlier day. The lists are given below. (References to these and other works discussed may be found in the bibliography at the end of the paper.)

Date of publication	Probable date of compilation	Author	Nationality	Approximate number or words
1784	1778	Anderson (with Cook)	British	250
1789	1787	Dixon	British	80
1822	1791	Quimper	Spanish-American	250
1812, 1814	1804	Lisiansky	Russian	170
1816	1809-1810	Campbell	British	400
1823	1819	Arago	French	200
not published	before 1818	Opukahaia	Hawaiian	?
not published	1824	Loomis	American	?
1825	1825	Bishop and Ellis	American and British	240
1834	-----	Dumont d'Urville	French	260
1841	1828	Botta	Italian	475

Cook's compiler was William Anderson (Volume I, page lxxxv), surgeon on the *Resolution*, and Cook's "most useful associate in the voyage." Anderson used an English-like spelling, as *ee* for today's *i*, as in *eeheeu*, nose (*ihu*); *oo* for today's *u*, as in *nooe*, large (*nui*); and *y* for today's *ai*, as in *myty*, good (*maika'i*).

One of the most interesting lists is that by Quimper. This was translated by William Harvey Minson in 1952 as part of a Master of Arts thesis. The Spanish original is available at the University of Hawaii library in microfilm. A Spanish-like orthography is used, as *j*, *g*, and *x* for today's *b*, as in *tajuna*, priest (*kahuna*), *metuagine*, mother (*makuahine*), *xare*, house (*hare*). *B* serves occasionally for today's *w*, as in *aiba*, nine (*eiwa*); *ll* for today's glottal stop, as in *ella*, fish (*i'a*); *qu* for today's *ku*, as *quomo*, spine (*kuamo'o*). Certain loan words appear even at this early date (1791), as *piquinini* for *small* and *tropi* for *cable* (English rope?). It is surprising to find for *eat* the pidgin form *caucao*, which has never been a Hawaiian word and was probably a Hawaiianization of the Chinese pidgin *chowchow*.

The next vocabulary is that of Captain Lisiansky, collected in 1804, with about 170 words written in the Russian alphabet. This is available in both Russian and in English translation.

The most extensive vocabulary yet garnered was that of the unfortunate British seaman, Archibald Campbell, whose feet were frozen in Alaska and consequently amputated, and who spent thirteen months in Hawaii in 1809-1810, where he was well treated by the Hawaiians. He used the English-like spelling in his list of some 400 words. After returning to England he made a miserable

living as a street musician and beggar, until he was seen by an editor, who arranged for publication of his memoirs.

A lively Frenchman, Arago, adds to the international character of our vocabularies. He was apparently the first to use a French-like orthography, such as *ou* for today's *w*, as in *oua-ha*, mouth, for *waha*. He had the French difficulty in hearing *h*, and wrote *nose*, *ihu*, as *iou*. He uses *c*, *k*, and *t* for today's *k*. Arago was draftsman to Freycinet's expedition that reached Hawaii in 1819; some of his handsome drawings of Hawaiians are comparatively well known today.

Our reference to the work of Opukahaia, that revered Hawaiian, is a statement by Rev. E. W. Dwight, on page 101 in his biography, that Opukahaia worked on a grammar, dictionary, and spelling book, and translated the whole of the book of Genesis before his death in New England in 1818 at the age of twenty-six years. (Mrs. Pukui reports that this name is pronounced 'öpū-kaha-ia, and means *slit stomach*.)

Elisha Loomis writes on page 20 of the journal of the ship *Thaddeus* that he was preparing a vocabulary of the Hawaiian language. Loomis left Hawaii in 1827 because of bad health, and gave his vocabulary to the missionaries on the *Parthian* before their departure from New England. In his diary, Dr. G. P. Judd mentions a vocabulary, and it is probably this one. He writes:

"February 20, 1828. I have after 7 days of severe labor finished copying a vocabulary of the Hawaiian language. I have bound it in a little volume containing 128 pages. I am now about to learn what of it I can before I arrive. Laura joins me in it or rather precedes me for she can speak many more words than I can."

The list by Ellis and Bishop of some 240 words published only in the 1825 edition of Ellis' *Tour around Hawaii*, uses spelling almost like our present system, except that there appear an occasional *r*, *t*, and *v*, in addition to *l*, *k*, and *w*. Ellis states that the words were obtained from a larger list prepared by Mr. Bishop.

Dumont d'Urville's list, published in 1834, is a compilation of vocabularies available to him, chiefly those of Anderson and Ellis, with a few additions by M. Gaimard, assistant surgeon on the *Uranie*. Dumont d'Urville compares words in the languages of Madagascar, Malaya, New Zealand (Maori), Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii, and in a rather scholarly essay states that these "dialects" are related and apparently the descendents of a common language that is lost today. He further postulates a close relationship of Hawaiian and Tahitian, and believes that Hawaiian and Maori both are descendents of Tahitian.

The last and largest list collected before the adoption of the 1829 orthography was by an Italian, Dr. Paolo Emilio Botta, who accompanied a French commercial expedition, that of Captain A. Duhaut-Cilly. Botta's list is a part of an essay in Italian on the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands and California. It is published as an addendum to an Italian translation of Duhaut-Cilly's account of his voyage in French.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY

A detailed history of the development of the orthography is described in a paper published in 1952 by Professors C. M. Wise and Wesley Herve of the University of Hawaii. The missionaries were aware of the inconsistencies of

the values of vowels in English spelling, and early decided to use five vowels in Hawaiian, with their continental values, and twelve consonants, with their English values. Later they received a Maori grammar and vocabulary from New Zealand. This confirmed their selection of the vowels. Ellis then came from Tahiti. Termed by Luomala "one of the intellectual giants among missionary ethnographers" (Luomala, p 13), he undoubtedly played a part in the ensuing controversy over the consonants. With admirable perspicacity that must be applauded by all, the missionaries saw that Hawaiians could not distinguish certain pairs of consonants (*k* versus *t*, *v* versus *w*, *l* versus *r*), and that it was futile to attempt to make the spelling do so. After much debate, they held an election, with victory for *k*, *w*, and *l*.

Their choice of this nearly phonemic alphabet, with its rejection of the unnecessary variant sounds, speeded up the literacy campaign. Laura Fish Judd was greatly impressed by the speed with which Hawaiians learned to read and write, and says (page 25 of her book) that only two or three days' time was needed. She maintains that Hawaii had a higher literacy rate than any country of the world except Scotland and New England. It is interesting to compare the "two or three" days to learn to read and write and spell Hawaiian, with the years American children are obliged to spend learning our extremely non-phonemic English spelling!

Good as the orthography was, it was deficient in two ways: failure to indicate the glottal stop, and length of vowels.

The glottal stop is sometimes erroneously called a "guttural." *K* is a guttural, but the glottal stop consists of a sudden closure of the glottis and consequently a complete cessation of sound. (The *glottis* is the opening between the vocal cords, which are behind the Adam's apple.) The term *hamzah* has occasionally been used for the glottal stop. This term is elsewhere used for the glottal stop in Semitic languages, and hardly seems applicable in the Pacific. We prefer the term *glottal stop*, which is used so widely in grammars of the world's languages and which is described in the most elementary book on phonetics.

The glottal stop occurs in English, but does not distinguish meaning. Often words beginning with vowels are preceded by this consonant, and the *oh's* in *oh-oh* are separated by the glottal stop.

The necessity for writing the glottal stop in Hawaiian is easily demonstrated. Numerous pairs of words are distinguished by its presence or absence, as *kā'u*, mine, and *kāu*, yours, or *pau*, finished, and *pa'u*, soot. Thus the glottal stop in Hawaiian is a consonant with as much respectability as any other consonant.

Similarly the value of distinguishing long and short vowels can be demonstrated by these contrasts: *pa'u*, soot, *pa'ū*, moist, *pā'ū*, sarong: *nāna*, for him, *nanā*, surely, *nānā*, to see.

Compare words written *a* or *aa*:

*a*, of, when, until  
*ā*, jaw, mould  
*'ā*, burn

*a'a*, root, vein, bag, purse  
*'a'a*, to dare, belt  
*'a'ā*, lava  
*'ā'ā*, dumb, dwarf

The dictionary now being compiled endeavors to show all these significant distinctions.

Did the introduction of an orthography either "ruin" or "fix" the language? Both statements are frequently made. My feeling is that neither accusation can be objectively proved. Writing and language are not the same and should be carefully distinguished. The writing had little effect on the language. It is silly to accuse the missionaries of reducing the number of sounds in the language by their selection of *k*, *l*, and *w* for the alphabet, and their rejection of *t*, *r*, and *v*. It is true that *r* is rarely if ever heard today. *T*, however, still flourishes on Niihau, and occurs frequently for *k* in chants. A *v*-like sound seems to be increasingly spoken today in spite of the fact that *v* is never written.

In other ways, too, the pronunciation does not follow the spelling. The missionaries wrote *b*, *r*, *d*, *g*, *s*, and *z* for loan words in the Bible. The Hawaiians, however, usually pronounced *b* as *p*, *r* as *l*, and *d*, *g*, *s*, and *z* as *k*. The name Samuel, for example, is written *Samuela* in the Bible, but I have never heard any pronunciation other than *Kamuēla*.

Normal fast speech is distinguished from artificial slow speech by certain changes. Such a phenomenon is true of all languages. These changes are described in a special section in modern grammars that sometimes goes by the elegant term *morphophonemics*. The changes can largely be reduced to rules. Listed below are examples of such oral deviations from the orthography in modern colloquial Hawaiian. These observations are based on hours of listening to the speech of persons recognized as speaking "good" Hawaiian, and to analyses of oral recordings of this speech by a tape recorder, and of visual recordings by a sound spectograph.

1. *A* before *i* may become *e*: *ikaika*, strong, is usually pronounced *ikeika*. *Kaikaina*, younger sibling of the same sex, is nearly always *keikeina*. *Maika'i*, good, is often *meika'i* or *meike'i*. This particular type of change is very common in languages, and in Germanic is called *umlaut*. It is a form of assimilation. During the production of *a*, the tongue starts to move up and forward towards the position of the anticipated *i*, with *ei* resulting: *e* is closer to *i* than is *a*.

2. Like vowels coalesce. *E hele ana au*, I'm going, is pronounced *e hele anau*.

3. Like vowels separated by a glottal stop undergo loss of one of the vowels, or even of the glottal stop. *Pua'a*, pig, is commonly *pu'a* or *pua*. (*Pua* means *flower*.) *Ka mea e loa'a ana*, whatever you find, is usually *ka mea e lo'ana*. There is nothing incorrect about such reductions, and they are not "sloppy." Such losses occur in the mouths of good speakers of all languages.

Writing has nothing to do with such changes. They occur in spite of writing. We cannot blame the missionaries for failing to "check" such changes. Language will change in spite of all legislation. Such is the dynamic nature of language. Changes such as these are predictable by rule and ought not to be shown in an orthography. The missionaries in deciding to write neither insignificant alternate sounds nor predictable variations, were a hundred years ahead of their times, and anticipated recent linguistic discoveries.

## DICTIONARIES 1836-1945

Works discussed here are those containing 4,000 or more words, as listed below. Many smaller lists such as that by Midkiff and Wise, and a Hawaiian-Japanese-English word and phrase book, are therefore omitted.

Author	Date	Approximate number of words
Andrews	1836	5,700 Hawaiian-English
Mosblech	1843	3,000 Marquesan- and Hawaiian-French
		4,000 French-Marquesan and -Hawaiian
Emerson and Bishop	1845	15,000 English-Hawaiian
Remy	1855	8,500 French-Hawaiian
Andrews	1865	15,500 (?) Hawaiian-English
		4,000 English-Hawaiian
Hitchcock	1887	16,000 English-Hawaiian
Andrews-Parker	1922	16,000 (?) Hawaiian-English
"Chinese" reprint of Andrews	1940 (?)	15,500 (?) Hawaiian-English
Judd-Pukui-Stokes	1945	4,500 English-Hawaiian 6,000 Hawaiian-English

Of the above writers, all but Remy, Hitchcock, Pukui, and Stokes were missionaries. It is apparent that we owe the missionaries a great debt for their lexical contributions. The missionaries knew that the Hawaiian heart could be reached only through the medium of the Hawaiian language. Some one in the journal of the Thaddeus wrote (page 5) of the "importance . . . of making the Owhyhean language a prime object, though our means of acquiring it is limited."

Laura Fish Judd stated in her book (page 79): "It was a maxim with the mission that in order to preserve the nation they must preserve its speech."

A grandson of Mrs. Judd, the Rev. Henry P. Judd, has spent a lifetime teaching Hawaiian, preaching in Hawaiian, and writing on Hawaiian subjects.

Rev. Lorenzo Lyons wrote as follows about the Hawaiian language (The Friend, September 1878, page 73):

"I've studied Hawaiian for 46 years but am by no means perfect . . . it is an interminable language . . . it is one of the oldest living languages of the earth, as some conjecture, and may well be classed among the best . . . the thought to displace it, or to doom it to oblivion by substituting the English language, ought not for a moment to be indulged. Long live the grand old, sonorous, poetical Hawaiian language."

The various Hawaiian dictionaries will now be discussed.

### LORRIN ANDREWS

The most important single name is probably that of Lorrin Andrews, who lived from 1795 to 1868. He arrived in Hawaii in 1828, with the Third Company of American Protestant missionaries. In 1831 he was appointed first principal at Lahainaluna School. The beginnings of this school were indeed difficult. The scholars had first to build the school, and some of them were half-starved until their gardens began to produce.



In 1834, the Mission asked Andrews to prepare a vocabulary. He was given two lists, those by Mr. Loomis and by Mr. Ely. S. M. Kamakau, a gifted Hawaiian student at Lahainaluna, was paid three dollars a week to assist Andrews. The manuscript for a first draft of this dictionary is now in the Punahou School library, and in very good condition. It bears no date, but must have been written between Andrews' arrival in Hawaii in 1828, and publication of the dictionary in 1836, and probably after Andrews' assignment by the Board in 1834 to do the work. The book is said to contain 5,700 words. They are listed in the order of the Hawaiian alphabet (a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, w).

Andrews published Hawaiian grammars in 1838 and 1854. He greatly influenced Alexander's more complete grammar of 1864. Andrews' work is not as free from Latin bias as is Chamisso's grammar of 1837, written in German and never translated into English. We now think that non-Indo-European languages must be described on their own merits, in terms of their own structure, instead of being stretched to fit the structure of Latin or English; the grammatical phenomena are too different to be so distorted.

In 1842 Andrews resigned as a missionary because the mission received funds from slave states. In 1845 he was appointed judge to handle cases involving foreigners, and later he was Secretary of the Privy Council. Finally he was pensioned at \$1,000 a year.

He continued his study of Hawaiian, and translated John, Jude, and Proverbs into Hawaiian, and translated into English the long Hawaiian chants, *Hawi ka lani* and *Kualii*.

In 1865 Andrews' revised and greatly expanded dictionary was published. In the introduction, Andrews lists as additional sources of words, vocabularies by Dr. Baldwin of Maui and of Kamakau, and handwritten comments in the interleaved 1835 dictionary by Mr. Richard, Rev. A. Bishop, and Dr. Judd. The new dictionary was a big achievement, and according to the author's count, contains some 15,500 words. The manuscript was proofread by Alexander.

Modest as usual, Andrews writes in the preface that as he: "reviews his dictionary, he feels that he has nothing to boast of. The deficiencies are still great. Much will remain for the author's successors to do before the genius, extent, and peculiarities of the Hawaiian language will be fully developed . . . The author hopes and prays that as God has spared his life to bring it (the dictionary) to a close, he will in some way make it useful to the increase of intelligence in this Hawaiian kingdom."

There was, of course, criticism of the dictionary, such as this by the Rev. Mr. Lyons, printed in *The Friend* of September 1878, a decent interval of ten years after Andrews' death:

"On the examination of the book I was greatly disappointed. There was much that was good, and correct, and helpful and enlightening in it; but there were great defects — many blunders, wrong definitions, an unpardonable jumble of words spelt the same but differently pronounced . . . no marks showing how words should be pronounced or what articles should be used . . . no mark to show the guttural words . . . some bad words that ought not to appear in a dictionary . . ."

Lyons spent eight years revising the dictionary, and some of his revisions

are said to have been incorporated in Parker's revision. But unfortunately, most of what Lyons says still applies to the Parker revision.

These comments, devastating as they are, should not prevent us from paying tribute to Andrews for amassing such a lot of information, and we should remember that the science of descriptive linguistics had not as yet been born.

I think Andrews would have been surprised and pleased to know that one of several copies of a later edition of his work circulating at the University of Hawaii library, was withdrawn for use forty-four times between 1941 and 1951.

#### MOSBLECH, EMERSON, REMY, HITCHCOCK

In 1843 an unusual sort of dictionary was published in Paris, that by the Abbe Mosblech, which had 112 pages of Marquesan and Hawaiian words with French equivalents, and 203 pages of French words with mixed Marquesan and Hawaiian equivalents. It was perhaps unique among such works in that it included data from both Catholic and Protestant sources.

The first exclusively English-Hawaiian dictionary was compiled by Rev. John S. Emerson, who arrived in Hawaii with the Fifth Company of missionaries, and spent his entire life at the church at Waialua, Oahu, except for the years 1842 to 1846, which he spent at Lahainaluna; it was during these years that he compiled the dictionary, assisted by S. M. Kamakau, the Rev. Mr. Alexander, and the Rev. Mr. Bishop. This work contains about 15,000 words. The acknowledged aim of the book was to help the student until he was able to use the English dictionary with English definitions, yet the words defined included such rare one as these, on the first page: abdication, abduction, abecedarian, aberration, abet, abettor, abhor, abhorrence, abhorrer, abhorrent.

Rev. John S. Emerson was the father of Nathaniel B. and Joseph S., who made such great contributions to our knowledge of Hawaiian lore.

An interesting French botanist and university professor, Jules Remy, spent about four active years in Hawaii between 1852 and 1855. He was a zealous student of Hawaiian language and lore. He translated into French a history, mostly by Malo, collected some legends, and wrote a French-Hawaiian dictionary of 232 pages; this manuscript is now in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The next dictionary is by Harvey Rexford Hitchcock, son of the Rev. Mr. Hitchcock of the same name who had come out with the Fifth Company of missionaries. In 1877 the Mission relinquished control of Lahainaluna School, which was transferred to the government. This meant the abandonment of Hawaiian as the language of instruction. Hitchcock was appointed the first lay principal, and was authorized by the legislature in 1882 to prepare an English-Hawaiian dictionary; he worked five years on this, defining 16,000 words and 3,000 phrases; the cost was \$2374.77. This is a very helpful work, but has long been out of print.

#### THE PARKER REVISION

In 1913 the Territory of Hawaii legislature made provision for the "compiling, binding, and publishing in book form a dictionary of the Hawaiian language." The grants made in 1913, 1917, and 1919 were very generous and

came to \$25,000. The Bishop Museum later contributed \$4,500 for printing and editorial costs (Report of the Director for 1922).

In 1915 Rev. Henry Hodges Parker, then 81 years of age, was appointed to revise the Andrews dictionary. Parker was the son of Rev. Benjamin Wyman Parker of the Sixth Company. He had grown up at Kaneohe and learned Hawaiian as a mother tongue. He studied theology under the Rev. Mr. Clark, and became pastor of Kawaiaha'o Church, a post he held for 54 years ending in 1917. He was so devoted to the Hawaiian language that he is said to have refused to preach in English. This embarrassed some of the Hawaiians, whose *haole* friends could not understand Hawaiian, but Parker is reported to have remarked that they could go elsewhere.

Parker added diacritical marks to the entries and some five hundred new words, including Rev. Lyon's revised definitions. He discarded some of Andrews' words, and all the Bible references. The reason stated in his preface for this strange action is that changes in later editions of the Hawaiian Bible made such words "unservicable."

In 1921 the cards on which Parker had written the words were taken to the Bishop Museum. A staff at the Museum verified some scientific terms, added new words, and arranged the cards in the order of the English alphabet rather than in the order of the Hawaiian alphabet. Many persons worked on the revision, including Joseph S. Emerson, Stephen Mahaulu, L. A. Dickey, Thomas C. White, Theodore Kelsey, Clifford Gessler, Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., and Berta Metzger. As far as we are able to tell, only four hundred copies were printed in 1922, and of these one hundred were given away. It is hard to understand why so few copies were printed of a book involving so many years of research. They sold for seven dollars and a half, a very large sum in that day. We have no way of knowing how long copies were available at that price — a few months, a few years perhaps. By 1931 none at all were obtainable except at inflated prices.

In his preface Parker says: "Few are able to appreciate the amount of labor or the length of time required to complete a work of this kind."

Later workers are grateful for this comment!

#### LATEST DICTIONARIES

In about 1940 the City Second Hand Bookstore ordered a reprint of Andrews' dictionary of 1865 in Hongkong. Inside the back cover at one corner are stamped inconspicuously the words "Made in China." Nothing else in the book shows that it was a reprint. The paper appears to be of cheaper quality, and the lower margin is narrower. One hundred copies are said to have been printed, and to have sold for ten dollars. They were soon out of print. One of the second-hand bookstores today has a copy for sale for seventy-five dollars.

The last dictionary is by Henry P. Judd, Mary Kawena Pukui, and John F. G. Stokes, and contains some 4,500 English-Hawaiian entries, and 6,000 Hawaiian-English entries. This book is of particular value because of its rather careful indication of glottal stops and of vowel quantity. Unfortunately it is very incomplete. Tongg Publishing Company reports that the book has been a steady

seller, and that by the end of November 1953, there had been sold 17,457 copies. There have been eleven printings.

### THE NEW DICTIONARY

The new dictionary is Mary Kawena Pukui's book. We should all be grateful that she has been willing to work so many years on this arduous task—some eighteen years. Mrs. Pukui was brought up in a remote part of Kā'ū, Hawaii, by her maternal grandmother, who was born in about 1830 and was the foster daughter of a *kahuna*. Mrs. Pukui's grandmother still recited prayers to her *'aumakua* family gods, and treated Kawena as a *punabele* or favorite child. This entailed adherence to many of the onerous old taboos, as well as instruction in the lore of the past. This education in Hawaiian learning did not cease with the death of the grandmother. Mrs. Pukui's mother, Paahana Wiggin, whom many of us remember with great affection, likewise imparted her extensive knowledge. At the Bishop Museum Mrs. Pukui has spent years translating old Hawaiian newspapers and manuscripts. Here she had the advantage of close association with Lihlahi Webb, a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Lili'u-o-kalani; she also worked closely with professional ethnologists, especially Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy, Dr. Kenneth P. Emory, and the late Sir Peter Buck. With all this background, and a photographic memory that never seems to forget, Mrs. Pukui has a virtue that should accompany all knowledge, a willingness to say "I don't know." Her versatility especially qualifies her for dictionary work, in which it is necessary to switch from modern sewing machine parts, to *heiau* ceremonial terms, to species of rare plants. She is blessed with a flair for language in both Hawaiian and in English, and is able to penetrate beneath the surface of the many figurative expressions. A keen sense of humor enables her to persevere with quiet determination in this often monotonous task. She is the expert in Hawaiian. This is her dictionary, a monument to her. My task has been the humble one of technician.

The technical work involves the assignment of diacritical marks. Early works had no marks. Later works had too many. We now think it is important *not* to have too many. This is a part of the science of phonemics, developed since the period from 1925 to 1933 simultaneously in the United States and in Europe. Piling up of diacritical marks in phonetic writing is largely subjective. Phonemics provides a scientific method of knowing which of the many speech features of a particular language are significant in that language. The principle is that significant ("phonemic") speech features are those that distinguish meaning, that cannot be predicted, and are not optional variant substitute sounds. In Hawaiian, for example, we do not need to indicate stress (accent), because the stress is predictable: the next-to-the-last syllable is stressed, and long vowels are always stressed.

The problem is vowel length. Four or five degrees of vowel length can be distinguished by a careful ear, but only two degrees distinguish meaning, or cannot be predicted.

Nonsignificant differences in length are due to the effect of neighboring sounds. For example, vowels are shorter after the glottal stop (compare the

first *a*'s in *ala*, road, and in *'ala*, (fragrant). And the common vowel *a* is longer before vowels than it is before consonants (compare *ka* in *ka hale* and in *ka inoa*).

In scientific terminology, the nonpredictable, non-freely varying sounds that distinguish meaning are called *phonemes*. The predictable or freely substitutable variants that do not distinguish meaning are called *allophones*. It is necessary to show phonemes in a scientific orthography, but not allophones.

Another technical problem involves loan words. ("Loan word" is the linguist's name for words introduced from one language into another.) The Andrews-Parker dictionary completely omits the words *Baibala* and *bapetiso*, meaning Bible and baptize, because they are usually spelled with initial *b*, and no *b* is used in the dictionary. We think such words cannot be omitted. Our technique has been to enter these words according to the usual pronunciation: *paipala* and *papekiko*, and then add the spelling variations. Under *b* there would be one entry reading: for loan words beginning with *b*-, substitute *p* and find under *p*.

Loan words from English into Hawaiian follow definite substitution patterns. *R* becomes *l*, *v* becomes *w*, *b* and *f* become *p*. A lengthy list of English letters is replaced by *k*: *c*, *ch*, *d*, *g*, *j*, *q*, *s*, *sh*, *th*, and *z*. All Hawaiian words end in vowels. Consonant clusters are either reduced to a single consonant, or the members are separated by a vowel. Thus

S a n f r a n c i s c o  
becomes: K a p a l a k i k o

Some have said that loan words should be omitted because they are not really Hawaiian. According to such reasoning, an English dictionary should be limited to words of Germanic origin. If we omitted the Hawaiian words that have come from English, Greek, or Hebrew, we would have to go back to the days before Captain Cook. We could not telephone, tell time, marry, get baptized, read the Bible, drink coffee, spend money, or use soap.

The entire concept of a "word" in Andrews-Parker seems questionable. Phonetically similar items with *different* meanings are grouped together under one entry if they are a single part of speech, but phonetically similar items with the *same* meaning are listed as *separate* entries if they occur as different parts of speech. Thus a single entry has items with different meanings, and separate entries have the same meaning.

An English parallel: Andrews-Parker would consider the English noun *love* and the verb *love* as separate words, but would treat as a single word the three nouns spelled *mole* (the animal, the jetty, and the skin protuberance). We would follow the technique used in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, and consider the noun and verb *love* as a single word, but call the three *moles* separate words.

Thus we feel that the totals of 15,500 words in Andrews and of 16,000 in Parker are too high, because so many Hawaiian words can be used as both noun and verb, and these should be considered single words rather than separate words. An estimate of the word total in Andrews-Parker by the Webster Collegiate counting method is 14,000.

Andrews-Parker definitions are often framed as though for persons with very imperfect knowledge of both English and Hawaiian. There is often a definition within a definition. *Iwiaoao* is defined as: "the rib, one of the bones attached to the spine and tending to encircle the body-cavity." *Mokupuni* is "the full form for island; that is, a division of land surrounded by water." We are greatly reducing such unnecessary verbiage.

Meanings often present a difficult problem, especially as Andrews-Parker list hundreds of obsolete terms, and many of these were obsolete in 1869. Rev. Lorenzo Lyons writes in a letter to Mr. Baldwin, dated April 21 of that year: "What's the use in having old pule and mele words not understood now even by the oldest! I have inquired the meaning of some words in the dictionary. O it is nothing but an old mele word—but what does it mean? he aha la? he hua mele wale no. Such is the reply of some of the oldest folks who have . . . (not clear) so many mele paanaau."

If there was trouble in 1869, there is much trouble in 1954. We are entering many words with question marks, and some without meanings. We hope to circulate the entire manuscript among a committee of Hawaiians who may help with these doubtful terms.

Mrs. Pukui fortunately remembers hundreds of lines from songs, and is able to recall examples of many such terms, and from these we can sometimes deduce the meanings.

Thousands of new words or meanings have been gleaned from old Hawaiian newspapers, from books by Malo and Kepelino, and from the Fornander collections. Word lists by Rev. Henry P. Judd and the late Albert Judd have been most helpful, as have words gathered by Theodore Kelsey. We have combed legal documents, law books, Clark's Bible dictionary, missionary journals, a hygiene book. We have the extensive and up-to-date monograph on Hawaiian fish by Margaret Titcomb and Mrs. Pukui. Experts have been most cooperative. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr. has supplied names of birds and insects, with details of their roles in Hawaiian culture. Dr. Charles Howard Edmondson and the late Wray Harris have identified reef and shore fauna. Dr. Nils P. Larsen has helped with medical terms, Dorothy M. Kahananui and Martha Hoku with musical terms, and Marie Neal is doing a colossal and heroic task with plant names and ethnobotany. Many additional dictionary entries have been found by two volunteer workers of the Bishop Museum Association, Elizabeth Nalani Ellis, and Emily Sharpe Wong, who is the granddaughter of a Hawaiian scholar of an earlier generation, Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe. At the University of Hawaii Press, Thomas Nickerson and Aldyth V. Morris have been most helpful in the unbelievably complex task of preparing the manuscript for printing. A great debt is owed to all of these who have helped with such willingness and *aloha*.

In conclusion may I add a personal note, my own feelings about the work. At times I must confess it is monotonous and dreary, the thirty-five shoe boxes of cards, and thirty-five thousand cards, the snail's pace. I often wonder if the *k's*, for example, will ever be finished. But with the slowness of the pace, there are times of hearty laughter. There are times of perplexity, too, and apprehen-



sion about shouldering the responsibility of assembling what will probably be the last of the many Hawaiian dictionaries.

On the whole, the task has been far from monotonous. It has been a voyage of constant discovery into the marvellous structure and patterning of the Hawaiian language, and of the beauties, imagery, and amazing richness of the lexicon. I feel most grateful for the privilege of working on the dictionary with Mrs. Pukui. It is an intellectual and emotional satisfaction and joy: intellectual from the standpoint of linguistics, emotional because it is a further tie with the people of whom I am so fond — the Polynesians.

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# A GILBERTESE TRADITION OF A RELIGIOUS MASSACRE

KATHARINE LUOMALA

THIS ARTICLE IS LARGELY LIMITED, except for some general introductory and explanatory material, to presenting one native Gilbertese version of the massacre of pagans by Christian converts on Tabiteuea Island, Gilbert Islands, in September, 1880. This article is part of a series of anthropological studies which I am making of the Gilbert Islands, and I expect to write more fully later about this particular historical event.

In the massacre an unknown number of pagan men, women, and children were surrounded and slaughtered by an army of Christian converts, some of them their own kinsmen, and then their bodies were heaped up, some still alive, and covered with thatched roofs torn from the houses of three nearby villages, and burned. The number who died was estimated at the time at all the way from two hundred to a thousand, but one of the Christian participants reported that 353 perished. This participant was one of the two native Hawaiian missionaries who were residing on the island and who were involved in the massacre. The conquerors subsequently divided the land of the pagans among themselves.

In 1948, sixty-eight years after the event, I was on Tabiteuea Island to make an ethnographical study (sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research), and happened to visit Te Wai, the scene of the massacre. Te Wai is a village which the finger of history has lightly touched more than once. During World War II a group of American men, who came ashore there from their disabled ship, were hospitably cared for until they were unwillingly rescued. The village then assumed the honorary name of Amerika to commemorate a mutually happy experience. The religious massacre was another post-European event in Te Wai history.

When I was asked if I would like to hear the story and replied that I would, Moaua, who is a leader not only in Te Wai but on Tabiteuea as a whole, told it in Gilbertese, which, as the narrative unfolded, was translated into English by Charles Williams, who, at that time, was a district officer in the Gilberts, an archipelago which the British have administered since 1892, previous to which it had been independent. Moaua, who is an official in the native government of his island, is also prominent among the Protestants, who are under the supervision of the London Missionary Society, the sole Protestant mission organization to remain in the archipelago after the withdrawal in 1917 of the Hawaiian Board, a branch of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Besides giving me much information about customs, Moaua also wrote a long account of the native cosmogony, particularly as it relates to Te Wai.

Moaua represents a well-informed, highly respected, and conscientious source of information. As he is only middle-aged he knows of the 1880 massacre only through tradition and not through personal experience.

In 1948 there were a few, but very few indeed, still alive with any knowledge of the massacre from personal experience. However, references to it, like Moaua's offer to tell the story, were spontaneous and fairly frequent. Usually the references constituted a kind of dating device. Thus, a feeble old man, whom I visited at Tekaman village, north Tabiteuea, because he had the most complete tattooing on the island, said that when he was about five he had carried the Reverend Hiram Bingham's basket for him; then he added, rather unnecessarily since Mr. Bingham was the first missionary to visit Tabiteuea, that this was before the war between the Christians and the pagans. If the Tekaman villager was five then, he would have been about seventeen at the time of the massacre and about eighty-five in 1948.

The Reverend Hiram Bingham, Jr., first called at Tabiteuea in 1867, eight years after he had established the first Christian mission in the Gilberts at Abaiang Island. Tekaman is proud of being the village at which Mr. Bingham came ashore and gave the first sermon on the island. The name of their *maneaba*, or public assembly house, is still the "Morning Star," in honor of the mission vessel. In 1868 after visiting Honolulu Mr. Bingham again called at Tabiteuea, this time to leave two native Hawaiian missionaries, G. Leleo and the Reverend W. B. Kapu. Their headquarters were to be, not Tekaman after all, but a little farther south at Eita village. Later when Leleo was transferred to Nonouti Island, H. B. Nalimu, a catechist, arrived in 1871 to replace him on Tabiteuea. Kapu retained Eita as his headquarters and northern Tabiteuea as his parish, while Nalimu settled at Utiroa, south of Eita, and had southern Tabiteuea as his special field. Utiroa is the village which in 1841 the Wilkes Expedition burned to the ground as a punitive measure.

Both Utiroa and Eita are on Anikai Islet, the northern and by far the largest and most populous of the more than fifty islets which make up the coral island of Tabiteuea and which spread over some thirty-five miles from north to south. On the estimated 12 square miles of Tabiteuea was a population at that time of about 5000. Two-thirds were on Anikai, which has half the total land area; the remainder lived on the numerous, small southern islets. Geographically most of Nalimu's parish was in the south, but most of his and Kapu's converts were on Anikai.

Anikai, however, had a stubborn stronghold of resistance just north of Eita at Tanaeang, the headquarters of Tanako, a Gilbertese, who, after hearing Mr. Bingham's first sermon, proclaimed that Tioba (Jehovah) had taken possession of him, appointed him his prophet, and given him a cross smeared with coconut oil and decorated with bunches of frigate bird feathers. These feather decorations resulted in Tanako's followers, who were numerous throughout Tabiteuea, especially in the south, being called Buraeniman, or Feather People. In June, 1879, when Kapu and Nalimu were jointly proselytizing in the northern part of Anikai, their attempts to preach in the Tanaeang *maneaba* were forcibly resisted by the Feather People. Later, on June 15, a Sunday, when the two

missionaries were conducting services at Eita, the gathering abruptly disbanded to engage in a bloody skirmish with the Feather People in which thirteen or fourteen pagans and one Christian were slain. It was a defeat for the Feather People, and more than a year later, when Kapu and Nalimu with other People of the Book, as the Christians were called, set out on the proselytizing expedition to the south which culminated in the massacre of the Feather People and other southern pagans, the people of Tanaeang, according to Moaua's account, did not participate.

The massacre was investigated by two committees of the Hawaiian Board. One investigation was in Tabiteuea in 1881. The other was in Honolulu in 1882 with Kapu, Nalimu, two Christian Gilbertese who had taken part in the massacre, and three members of the first committee present to give evidence. Both committees agreed that Nalimu had had an active role in the massacre, but they differed as to whether he had actually incited it. The first committee regarded him as guilty of inciting and leading on the massacre, of witnessing the burning of the dead and wounded without remonstrance, and of accepting the lands of the vanquished from the hands of the conquerors. The second committee did not regard as conclusive the evidence that he had been the inciter and leader, but it recommended his dismissal because he admitted to the committee that he had witnessed the burning of the dead and the wounded without having attempted to stop it. It was established that Kapu was with the People of the Book and Nalimu on this expedition to the south and that he had witnessed the battle. However, the committee in Honolulu did not regard the evidence as conclusively showing him to have been sufficiently implicated to warrant dismissal. It severely censured him for not having made more effort to dissuade the mob from the attack and for not clearly and publicly rejecting the lands offered him by the victors. The conclusions of the Honolulu committee regarding the inadequacy of the evidence about Kapu's role in the massacre is of interest because Moaua's account designates Kapu, not Nalimu, as the leader. At the time that Moaua was narrating the account, Mr. Williams remarked to me that he had always understood Nalimu was regarded as the leader.

After the investigation in Honolulu, Kapu returned to act officially as a missionary on Tabiteuea until his separation from the service in 1886 because of charges against him of spiritism, that is, of professing to receive communications from the spirit of his dead wife. He continued to reside on Tabiteuea, however, where he was known as "the lawgiver," until 1892 when he was requested to leave by Captain Davis of the British man-of-war, the *Royalist*, which raised the British flag in the Gilberts.

The Gilbertese call the two missionaries Kabu and Nanim. Nalimu's name has been altered because the letter *l* is absent from their language. The names of Kabu and Nanim are as closely linked and well known in Tabiteuean tradition as those of another famed pair, Kaitu and Uakeia of Beru Island, who, an estimated two and a half centuries ago, invaded and conquered all of Tabiteuea except for the extreme north, before departing to conquer another half dozen islands. The relative importance of the wars associated with the two pairs of

names on Tabiteuea is indicated by the war of Kaitu and Uakeia being called "the first war" and that of Kabu and Nanim "the second war."

Both wars involved more than one engagement. Kaitu and Uakeia, however, started their attacks in south Tabiteuea, or Tabonteaba, "Tip of the Land" or "Land's End," as it is usually called, and progressed northward. The second war started in the north, at Tanaeang and Eita and advanced southward. As far as is known, the warriors from Beru slew but few Tabiteueans. The death toll seems to have been principally among those refugees who fled in panic to the sea in their canoes; some eventually sighted land; others did not. For all the warlikeness of the Gilbertese, killing was the exception in the fighting on Tabiteuea and certain of the other islands. The intent was to wound and not to slay; a slayer was regarded as a murderer and had to pay compensation in land. And for the losers who wished to hide and fight another day there were places of refuge which their pursuers accorded a certain amount of respect. The 1880 massacre was different. It ended in mass slaughter and the seizing of the lands of the slain by the victors. However, according to an episode in Moaua's account and which occurs in other traditional accounts, a place of refuge to which a few had escaped was respected, mostly perhaps because the temporary insanity and blood lust had largely been spent by the time the victors moved farther south.

Below is Moaua's account, with my explanatory remarks inserted in brackets, those of Mr. Williams in parentheses.

#### THE NARRATIVE OF THE MASSACRE

Kabu and Nanim were Hawaiians. The pagans lived south of Aiwa village, and the Protestants, the followers of the Hawaiian missionaries, were from Aiwa north to Kabuibui village [the northern tip of Anikai]. The people of Tanaeang village were Feather People but kept out of the war because they intended to change their faith anyway. Kabu came down from the north to the old Te Wai *maneaba*, which was on the islet north of the present one, and the people had no clothes on but were tattooed. Some were tattooed all over, others had just a little. He got up in the *maneaba* called Taribo. He preached to the people but they refused to hear and showed him great disrespect. Those who did have grass kilts on took them off. They showed him much evil. They wished to kill him and he had to fly. He returned to Aiwa. And he sent his word to the north for everybody to come to the south to punish the pagans. When they had all come, they had a meeting, and at this meeting they selected certain warriors as assassins (*tanikabutikikao*, "people who move the octopus").

These assassins came south and found an outlying group of pagans at Te Ngongo Islet, and killed all but one man named Tekai, whose left hand was cut off. He ran south. He ran past three villages, Te Aikirona, Tarawa, and Te Banonga, on the lagoon mud, way out, and through low water springs. He missed out the island of Te Wai and came to the island Te Buatua, where Te Wai village is now but no *maneaba* was there then. There was a village there, and all the people from Taku, Nikutoro, Buariki, and Taungaekaka [villages to the south] were at Te Buatua.

[Part of the story belonging above had been omitted and was now told.]

While being chased, Tekaië had his wife, who was pregnant, with him. They were chased by the assassins. Karaitia and his wife, Tekaië and his wife, and about six others had all been sitting there at Te Ngongo islet. They had concluded there was not going to be a war and so they had not joined the people at Te Buatua. They were sitting around a fire. It was night. They were suddenly surprised by the assassins, and as she fled Nei Bebe, wife of Tekaië, called out, "Tekaië-o! You run away too and I am caught." Tekaië replied, "Bebe-o! Indeed this is the taking of life. Just look after yourself." Bebe replied, "And what a traitor you are!" And then she was slaughtered. [All the conversation was given in a high falsetto, with Nei Bebe's remarks pitched higher than those of Tekaië's.]

Tekaië shouted as he arrived at Te Buatua, "You are all right, you people. You people are lying down and here comes the thing." They all started up. They said, "What?" Tekaië said, "War has come here from Anikai." "And what of that?" said the people of Te Buatua. "Nothing, except that our whole group has been slaughtered," said Tekaië. Then they got their weapons of war ready.

[Here Moaua paused and asked if we would like to know what some of the weapons were and what they were like. We said that we would, so he described seven weapons. Their detailed description is not included here. He described a club, a double-headed dagger, a shark's-tooth spear, a coconut wood lance with two obtuse arms attached to the main shaft which was tipped with a bundle of stingrays, a spear with its tip fitted with a bundle of stingrays, a straight coconut lance, and a coconut lance fitted with three sharp branching arms.]

They were just preparing to march across the passage to Te Wai Island when they saw a company of people, of spirits. The moon was just rising and they waited for these people and nothing happened. Next morning they went across to the *maneaba*. Everyone met there and they listed to Tekaië on the situation. And again they made ready for war, and the northern army also came down south and the south got ready their gun [a cannon]. Sometime before, the pagans had got guns off a wrecked European ship, and also gunpowder. They had a practice shoot. They put up poles, like people, on the flats, and the gun on Te Wai Island, west of the *maneaba* on the hard ground above the beach. The poles were like a fence, made of all sorts of wood, *Pandanus*, young coconut trunks, and *uri* (*Guettarda speciosa* L.). The people had *te taurekereke*, which was an iron chain, and *te mokoro ni bore*, which was a short piece of iron and the same name as the captain of the ship, for ammunition, and they packed the gun also with *te bunang*, an unknown material found on the ship, perhaps gunpowder, which exploded it. *Te beuti* is another name for the unknown material. And the people practiced shooting and wrecked the fence. The gun was put at the end of the road, at Te Banonga village.

The forces of the Christian faith were in a long line originally set up by Bourua Island and stretched from *Matan Rawarawa* ("The Opening of Many Passages"), where the reef side is irregular, up to *Matanikabi* ("The Deep Water Openings" or literally, "Eyes of the Keel of the Canoe") from where the canoe will ground, on the lagoon side, where the reef mud ends and the reef drops. They came south. They progressed, and when they got to Arakeaka

the middle of the line was extremely frightened of the large gun. The left of the line descended, and the right of the line descended on the reef mud, and closed in like a pincer movement. The central portion hid behind trunks of the coconut trees. The badge of the north people was called *Te Kikanang* ("The Octopus of the Wind") and they wore it in front and behind to give a distinctive badge. [This was a looped piece of coconut leaflet, a specimen of which was made by Moaua for the Bernice P. Bishop Museum where it now is.]

Kabu had told them to fear nothing because even the big gun of the pagans had nothing to it because it belonged to God and it had no power against them. He told the forces not to use any magic or other oldtime customs. One man from Anikai made the magic called *Kauti ni Mane* ("Awakening of Manhood"), and his name was Kainanang ("*Pandanus* Tree of Wind"). And then just as the powder of the gun was lit, rain fell on the gun. And nowhere else. Exactly at the same time, rain fell as the powder was lit. The gun did not fire with its usual strength. The passage at the time was low — half tide — with some ponds there. Usually when the gun was fired, you could not see the cannon ball but this time the shot bounced like mullet across the ponds. And the only man who was struck was Kainanang. He was hit in the leg.

When the gun exploded, the troops on the left and the right of the line advanced to attack, and the center also attacked, and the people of Tabonteaba ("Tip of the Land," the south) were surrounded in the middle, and they were in a mass unable to fight and were all killed because when the people in the front line charged with their spears the foe were able to retreat. When they drew them back for another shot, they pierced their companions, struck the stomachs of their companions to the rear. The people in the middle could only point their spears at heaven. All the people who were surrounded were killed. A few not surrounded ran away and escaped.

One row after another of defenders fell and the next line would be attacked. Some of the victims fell down and pretended to be dead before they had been touched. And the actual site of the battle is the ring of stones on the flats of the lagoon. (This is a circle of stone which Mr. Telfer Campbell, the first Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert Islands Colony, had placed on the flats of the lagoon to commemorate the battle.)

Kabu decided some people were dead and some were not, and decided on wholesale slaughter. The bodies were piled up and the houses of the three villages of Te Aikirona, Tarawa, and Te Banonga were put on top of them and the pile was set alight. This was at low tide. When the tide rose, the fire went out and the remains floated away. The bodies drifted about everywhere and came ashore. The sand, the reef mud, is black today because of the fire of Kabu.

After that the victors went searching for the other people, men, women, and children. Those whom they caught they killed. A large number rushed to Buariki [village] where there was a "missionary" [that is, a Christian], Aberam [Abraham], a Buariki man who had previously been converted. He filled his house with women and children. He had a big house and the people of Anikai called out to him and requested him, "Aberam, turn them out, please." Aberam



replied, "There isn't anyone here from Tabonteaba but only my family, my children and grandchildren." Except for these people, all people were killed.

Perhaps a day, or two days, later, word came from Kabu, "*E a bono te mataroa*" ("The door is shut," meaning that the war is over). After that captives were not killed but were taken to the north as slaves, and the land of Tabonteaba was divided among the people of Anikai, and each person remaining alive in the south was given only one land in the village and one land in the bush. And this is the end.

\* \* \* \*

When the narrative was ended, we crossed over to the adjoining islet and walked down the path through a coconut grove to the shore to see the circle of stones which Mr. Campbell had erected as a memorial. We also inspected the black reef mud which the people believe received its color from the fire. While we walked about on the reef mud, Moaua added a few more details to his account, stating that not all the people who were burned were dead when the fire was lighted.

Mr. Williams remarked later to me that he had previously heard the episode about the Christian who used magic in the war told as part of the narrative about the fighting in northern Tabiteuea. On my return to the north, Baram, a man living at Eita but originally from Aiwa, a village south of Anikai Islet, said that he had always understood that no northerners were killed at Te Wai. One Christian died in the earlier fighting at Eita in the north, he said, because he had disobeyed Kabu who had told his followers, "Don't do any magic today, on Sunday." This man whose name was Kainanang, as in Moaua's narrative, disobeyed and made the magic called "Awakening of Manhood" even though it was Sunday and consequently he died after being pierced down the throat.

## MINUTES OF THE 62<sup>nd</sup> ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on Thursday evening, February 25, 1954 at 8 o'clock, with President Meiric K. Dutton presiding.

Reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was waived as they were printed in the annual report.

The treasurer, Mr. A. C. Young, presented his annual report which was accepted, ordered placed on file and printed in the annual report.

The report of the librarian, Mrs. Willowdean Handy, was read, accepted and ordered placed on file.

President Dutton submitted the report of the president, giving a resume of the year's activities.

Dr. Nils P. Larsen presented the report of the Nominating Committee, nominating the following:

For President, Meiric K. Dutton.

For Trustees to serve for two years: Richard B. Bailey, Charles H. Hunter, Bernice Judd and Robert R. Midkiff.

This report was adopted and the Secretary instructed to cast the ballot unanimously electing the officers as nominated by the committee.

Dr. Katharine Luomala presented an interesting paper on Gilbertese Traditions and the Hawaiian missionaries to the Gilbert Islands.

Dr. Alexander Spoehr, Director of the Bishop Museum, spoke briefly on "The Bishop Museum; What it can offer the historian."

The meeting was then adjourned.

MAUDE JONES, *Recording Secretary*

### MEETING OF MAY 13, 1953

An open meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on Wednesday evening, May 13, 1953 at the Mission-Historical Library.

Dr. Samuel Elbert addressed the meeting on the subject of Hawaiian Dictionaries, describing the work now in process in connection with preparing a new, definitive Hawaiian dictionary. Funds for publishing this dictionary have been voted by the legislature.

### MEETING OF OCTOBER 28, 1953

An open meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday evening, October 28, 1953 at the Mission-Historical Library.

Miss Ethel M. Damon read portions of her interesting paper on the visit of Jane, Lady Franklin to the Sandwich Islands in 1861.

Mr. Ernest Andrade, Jr., read a paper including the final chapter of his study of the Revolution of 1887.

Both special meetings of the year were well attended and the papers well received.



## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE  
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

As we meet here tonight for the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society, it is fitting that we pay tribute to its organizers and to those who have fostered it through the years. It is particularly appropriate that we give thanks to those who are responsible for our having joined with the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society in the erection of this home. But it is not enough that we applaud their accomplishments.

It is our duty now and in the future to see to it that the Society shall meet fully its obligations. And that cannot be done with an income from dues of but \$1297.00 as reported by our treasurer, Mr. Young. We must find the means whereby we may quadruple this income from dues. This goal is not at all impossible of accomplishment, but it will require the cooperation of each active member in soliciting new members, and in considering the up-grading of his own membership classification when that is feasible.

Beginning with the year 1954, the classification of "Annual Member" has been discontinued; and the classification of "Regular Member," with dues of \$5.00 a year, has become the basic membership classification. It is our earnest wish that we may keep every one of our former Annual Members in one of the other classifications.

Our limited income has made impossible the addition of much material to our library by purchase; but we have been fortunate in having received a number of valuable gifts as reported by our librarian.

Two meetings of the Society have been held since the last Annual Meeting. On May 13, 1953, Dr. Samuel Elbert told of the work which is being done in the preparation of a new Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language. On October 28, 1953, Miss Ethel M. Damon and Mr. Ernest Andrade, Jr., addressed the Society. Miss Damon read portions of her paper on Lady Franklin's visit to the Sandwich Isles. Mr. Edwin H. Bryan showed slides from the files of the Bishop Museum which illustrated Miss Damon's talk. Mr. Andrade read a paper which constitutes the final chapter of his work on the Revolution of 1887. Both meetings were well attended; and the papers were all of a high standard of quality.

The work of your president has been lightened by the unfailing help and cooperation of our other officers. Our treasurer, Mr. Young, has, as always, been faithful in his search for supplementary income. It has resulted in gifts which have made our financial burdens tolerable; but such gifts are an insecure foundation on which to build the Society's future.

Our librarian, Mrs. Handy, has performed extremely valuable and faithful service. I wish to express publicly the sincere thanks of the entire Society for the unselfish quality of her service.

Our vice-president and chairman of the program committee, Dr. Charles Hunter, has performed faithfully every duty with which he has been charged. Miss Bernice Judd and Miss Maude Jones have always been ready whenever a helping hand was needed. It is difficult adequately to express the appreciation I feel for the help of these officers and of the other members of the Board of Trustees.

Respectfully submitted,  
MEIRIC K. DUTTON, *President*

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

### THE PRESIDENT, THE TRUSTEES AND MEMBERS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Attached hereto is your Treasurer's report of the finances of your Society for the calendar year 1953.

It is of interest to note that dues collected in 1953 were \$1,297 as against \$873 in 1952. This is encouraging, as your Society cannot live and do the things it should do unless there are enough members, paying enough dues, to cover the overhead and provide funds for increasing our collection and maintaining it adequately. But we are not yet on firm financial ground. Our expenses in 1953 were \$2,718.02 as against \$2,300.79 in 1952. It was the generous contributions of members and friends during the year which made up the deficit and enabled us to end the year with \$2,887.62 in our checking account as against \$2,164.16 a year ago.

Work toward the completion of the biography of President and Governor Sanford Ballard Dole is progressing, thanks to very substantial grants.

Now I am ready to turn over to my successor, and present the statement for the year for your consideration, subject to such audit as you may wish.

February 25, 1954

Respectfully submitted,  
ALFRED C. YOUNG, *Treasurer*

### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR CALENDAR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1953

#### RECEIPTS

Dues .....	\$1,297.00	
Contributions:		
Book Fund .....	110.00	
Building Fund .....	726.88	
Dole Biography Research .....	3,600.00	
General Fund .....	766.62	
Dividends:		
Pac. Gas & Elec., Preferred .....	75.00	
Von Hamm-Young Co., Preferred .....	63.75	
Interest:		
Bishop National Bank, Sav. a/c .....	32.22	
U. S. Savings Bond, Series E .....	12.50	
Sale of Publications .....	357.51	\$ 7,041.48

#### DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Librarian .....	1,167.74
Books Purchased .....	92.20
Dole Biography Research .....	2,100.00
Dues:	
Calif. Historical Society .....	10.00
Hawn. Volcano Research Assn. ....	3.00
Presidents' Club .....	2.00
Hawn. Mission Children's Society:	
Balance in full of \$10,000 share of cost of Mission	
Historical Library .....	1,500.00

# Hawn. Mission Children's Society:

Monthly share of upkeep during year 1953 @ \$40.00.....	480.00	
Miscellaneous.....	4.27	
Pamphlets, cards, etc.....	5.00	
Printing, stationery and postage.....	880.30	
Rental of chairs.....	16.00	
Subscription to Periodicals:		
The Church Chronicle.....	1.00	
Pacific Historical Review.....	4.00	
Taxes paid:		
1½% Soc. Sec. Tax (Employer's share).....	17.52	
Terr. 2% Dividend Tax.....	2.77	
Bishop National Bank — Deposit to Savings Account (interest earned in 1953).....	32.22	6,318.02

Cash in Bank — January 1, 1953.....	723.46
	2,164.16

CASH IN BANK — DECEMBER 31, 1953.....	<u>\$ 2,887.62</u>
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## SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT

Bishop National Bank — Commercial Account.....	\$ 2,887.62
Bishop National Bank — Savings Account.....	2,173.03
Petty Cash Fund.....	25.00

\$ 5,085.65

## INVESTMENTS

75 shs. The von Hamm-Young Co., Ltd. 4¼% Preferred  
50 shs. Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 6% First Preferred  
\$500 U. S. Savings Bond — Series G

## SPECIAL BOOK FUND

Balance — Jan. 1, 1953.....	\$	10.65
Contributions received.....	\$60.00	
Transferred from General Fund.....	50.00	110.00

	120.65
Books purchased.....	92.20

Balance on hand.....	<u>\$ 28.45</u>
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## DOLE BIOGRAPHY RESEARCH

Contributions received.....	\$ 3,600.00
Disbursements.....	2,100.00

Balance on hand.....	<u>\$ 1,500.00</u>
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## BUILDING FUND

Contributions received:		
1949.....	\$ 1,500.00	
1950.....	3,627.12	
1951.....	893.00	
1952.....	3,253.00	
1953.....	726.88	

10,000.00

## Payments to Hawn. Mission Children's Society:

July 21, 1950.....	\$7,500.00	
December 16, 1952.....	1,000.00	
February 2, 1953.....	1,500.00	10,000.00

.00

## GENERAL FUND

Balance on hand.....	<u>\$ 766.62</u>
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## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

Late in 1952, the Trustees of our Society requested a survey of our holdings of newspapers printed in Hawaii. They realized that such material is disintegrating so rapidly that only drastic measures, such as micro-filming, can preserve their contents.

This survey became the major work of the Librarian during 1953 and grew to 52 mimeographed pages. It lists the titles in English, Hawaiian, Portuguese, and combinations of languages, records not only the dates, volumes, numbers, and pages of each publication, but also the physical condition of bindings and paper.

The urgency of the need for prompt action towards salvaging the material may be judged through a few figures. Our holdings of 65 newspapers have been bound, some of them for more than 62 years, into 164 volumes. Of these, considerably more than half are in such a state of disrepair as to be unavailable to readers. There are besides enough unbound sheets, which are possibly strong enough to stand binding, to constitute 23 additional volumes. Translated into terms of micro-filming, 121 rolls of film (100 feet to the roll) will be needed to preserve our files of newspaper publishing in Hawaii of the past 120 years.

This situation, echoed in every library in the Territory, has roused the librarians, backed by a friend of the libraries and one of our Trustees, Dr. Charles H. Hunter, to extend the survey begun by the Hawaiian Historical Society to cover all extant newspapers, to estimate the cost of micro-filming as complete files as may be discovered, and to seek financial aid in making a cooperative salvaging enterprise possible.

The collections of our Society have been augmented during the past year by gifts, exchanges, and purchases, a few of which should be mentioned as of particular interest. Among items from the past are: *Statutes of the Royal Order of Kapiolani* decreed by King Kalakaua; a letter from Charles R. Bishop to Captain James A. King; the Bible which was used successively in the pulpits of the Pilgrim and Central Union Churches, which was originally a gift to King Kalakaua from Egypt; copies of the *Paradise of the Pacific* and the *Hawaiian Church Chronicle* to fill gaps in our long files. We were also recipients of two revisions of old publications: *Leo Hoonani Hou*, the new hymnal of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association; and *Makua Laiana*, the biography of Lorenzo Lyons compiled by his granddaughter, Emma Lyons Doyle.

Recent publications received include: *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years*, by Ralph S. Kuykendall; *The Japanese Frontiers in Hawaii, 1868-1898*, by Hilary Conroy; *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands*, by Arne A. Koskinen; *Stories of Long Ago*, by Ida Elizabeth Knudsen Von Holt; *Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina*, by Mary Charlotte Alexander; *William L. Lee, Hawaii's First Chief Justice*, by Meiric K. Dutton; *Explorers of the Pacific*, by Peter H. Buck; *Kamehameha*, a story of the Schools by Donald Mitchell; *Journey to the Trust Territory*, by Riley H. Allen; *Tuberculosis in Hawaii*, by Hastings H. Walker, a reprint from *The Review of Tuberculosis*; and two numbers of *The Hawaiian Guardsman* containing articles by W. H. D. King on *The Hawaiian National Guard* and *The Citizens' Guard of Honolulu*.

The donors who have remembered us thus with their own publications or those of others are Mrs. Thomas A. Jaggar, Dr. Thomas L. Crosby, David Christie, Dr. Leslie Dunstan, Mrs. Emma Lyons Doyle, Hilary Conroy, Aarne A. Koskinen, Ralph S. Kuykendall, Meiric K. Dutton, the Bishop Museum, Kamehameha Schools, Hastings H. Walker, and W. H. D. King. Donors of more than 50 other items, too numerous to list here, have been thanked by letter.

In addition to the Quarterlies which we acquire through exchange for our own publications, we have during the past year received in this way two notable contributions: a 34 volume set of *Historical Records of Australia* from the Commonwealth National Library, and a beginning of a promised gift to us from our Library of Congress of their surplus and copyright-deposit material which concerns Hawaii.

Last year's plea for pictures has brought generous responses from Mrs. Julia Giffard, Mrs. Clarice B. Taylor, American Factors, and United Air Lines.

The Librarian would also like to thank those who have helped her in various ways: Robert Van Dyke, a Punahou student, one of our members, who has given his Saturday mornings to move books for the re-cataloging of the library; Dr. Charles H. Hunter, who provided mimeographed copies of the survey of newspapers for the librarians who are expanding its coverage.

A small but steady flow of requests for services and information, averaging about two per month, has come from Canada, Germany, and seven states of the Union; from the Librarian of the Provincial Archives at Victoria, for data on the state of preservation of Captain Cook's monument at Kealahou; from a professor of Hamburg University, for books for a course on exploration in the Pacific; from Yale University Library, for the story of the first map engraving of the Hawaiian Islands; from an author of New York, for microfilms of samples of old Portuguese newspapers. There have been opportunities to help descendants untangle the lives of their forebears, two of these being the daughter of Captain N. C. Brooks, the discoverer of Midway Island, and the granddaughter of Archdeacon and Mrs. George Mason who accompanied Bishop T. N. Staley to these islands. Both Miss Dorothy Brooks and Mrs. Clarence Dunn have become members of the Society as a result of these communications.

One withdrawal of material should be noted: On August 10, 1953, Mr. James Tice Phillips removed from the custody of the Hawaiian Historical Society a manuscript of "Records of the Meetings of the Faculty of the High School at Lahainaluna, Maui, from August 24, 1835 through May 10, 1877." (See Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report No. 39 for 1930, p. 26.) Mr. Phillips gave this manuscript to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

Finally, the Librarian would like to report that the reading room of the Mission-Historical Library has increased its usefulness by 30% during the past year. 532 names were entered in our book of readers during 1953.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY

# LIST OF MEMBERS

September 15, 1954

## HONORARY

Kuykendall, Ralph S.

## LIFE

Alexander, Mary C.  
Ashford, Marguerite K.  
Baker, Ray Jerome  
Beckwith, Martha W.  
Cades, J. Russell  
Cades, Milton  
Cooke, Mrs. Maud B.  
Cooke, Mrs. Theodore A.  
Cox, Joel B.  
Damon, Ethel M.  
Damon, Mary M.  
Hoyt, Simes T.  
Hoyt, Mrs. Simes T.  
Judd, Bernice  
Judd, Walter F.

McMahon, Mrs. James  
Midkiff, Frank E.  
Midkiff, Robert R.  
Mitchell, Donald  
Moses, Alphonse L.  
Phillips, James Tice  
Phillips, Stephen W.  
Pukui, Mrs. Mary Kawena  
Robinson, Mark A.  
Sinclair, Gregg M.  
Spaulding, Thomas Marshall  
Von Holt, Mrs. Herman  
Waterhouse, John T.  
White, Mrs. Robert E.  
Wilcox, Gaylord P.

## SUSTAINING

Brown, Zadoc White  
Castle, Alfred L.

Rawlins, Malvina F.  
Towill, Roswell M.  
Young, Alfred C.

## CONTRIBUTING

Anthony, J. Garner  
Armitage, George T.  
Awai, George E. K.  
Bent, Mrs. Charles  
Bickerton, Mrs. Agnes C.  
Bond, B. Howell  
Brooks, Dorothy  
Budge, Alexander G.  
Caldwell, Mrs. Henry  
Carter, Reginald H.  
Carter, Mrs. Reginald H.  
Castle, Harold K. L.  
Cooke, George P.  
Cooke, Mrs. George P.  
Dutton, Meiric K.  
Greene, Ernest W.  
Greenwell, Mrs. Arthur L.  
Handy, E. S. Craighill

Hunter, Charles H.  
Jones, Maude  
Korn, Alfons L.  
Lee, Dr. Robert C. H.  
MacIntyre, Mrs. Malcolm  
Morse, Marion  
Russell, John E.  
Sevier, Randolph  
Smith, Arthur G.  
Soares, Oliver P.  
Steadman, Mrs. Alva E.  
Stickney, Joseph B.  
Tozzer, Alfred M.  
Trent, Robert R.  
Walker, Margaret J.  
Ward, A. L. Y.  
Warinner, Emily V.  
Wiig, Mrs. Jon  
Williams, Mrs. Edith B.

## REGULAR

Ahrens, Wilhelmina I.  
Ai, C. K.

Akee, Mrs. Howard  
Almond, Frank B.  
Anderson, Mrs. Eleanor  
Anderson, Robbins B.

Bacon, George E.  
Bacon, Mrs. George E.  
Bailey, Mrs. Alice Cooper  
Bailey, Richard B.  
Barry, John  
Bell, Janet E.  
Bergin, Mrs. W. C.  
Billson, Marcus K.  
Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding  
Bradley, Harold W.  
Brown, George Ii  
Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.

Carlsmith, C. Wendell  
Carney, Mrs. J. J.  
Carter, A. Hartwell  
Cartwright, William Edward  
Charlot, Jean  
Christian, Mrs. George R.  
Cloward, Dr. R. B.  
Cogswell, W. O.  
Collins, George M.  
Conant, Melvin  
Conrad, Agnes  
Conroy, R. Hilary  
Cooke, Charles M., III  
Cooke, Mrs. Harrison R.  
Cooper, Bryant  
Corbett, Mrs. Gerald R.  
Correa, Genevieve  
Cox, Mrs. Isaac M.  
Cross, Ralph H.  
Cummings, John E.

Day, A. Grove  
Dillingham, Mrs. Walter F.  
Doyle, Mrs. John F.  
Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl  
Dunn, Mrs. Clarence  
Dutton, Mrs. Meiric K.

Ecke, Gustav  
Ecke, Mrs. Gustav

Edwards, Webley  
Elbert, Samuel H.  
Emory, Kenneth P.  
Ewart, Arthur F.

Fennell, Dolla  
Field, Harry M.  
Field, Mrs. Harry M.  
Fielder, Kendall J.  
Fisher, Mrs. Gerald W.  
Fitzpatrick, Floyd W.  
Fleming, David T.  
Fraser, Juliette May  
Fraser, Mabel

Grace Marian, Sister  
Green, Caroline P.  
Greer, Richard A.  
Griffing, Robert P., Jr.  
Guard, Mrs. J. B.

Hague, James D.  
Handy, Mrs. E. S. Craighill  
Handy, Mrs. Willowdean C.  
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Ass'n.  
Herman, F. B.  
Hinkley, Mrs. Vern  
Hohu, Mrs. Martha Poepoe  
Houston, Victor S. K.  
Howard, Volney Ashley K.  
Hull, Lonnie  
Humme, Charles W.  
Henry E. Huntington Library

Irwin, Margaret S.

Jabulka, Mrs. Jan  
Jansma, Marvin  
Jenkins, Mrs. John T.  
Jenks, Mrs. Livingston  
Johnson, Donald D.  
Johnson, Mrs. Irving  
Judd, Lawrence M.

Kahale, Rev. Edward  
Kamehameha Schools  
Katsuki, Dr. S. S.  
Kauai Historical Society  
Kay, Mrs. Harold T.  
Keller, Arthur R.  
Kent, Harold W.

Kimball, Mrs. Clifford  
Kimball, George P.  
King, Davis N. K.  
King, Pauline  
King, Samuel P.  
King, Samuel Wilder  
King, W. H. D.  
Krauss, Noel L. H.

Larsen, Dr. Nils P.  
Larsen, Mrs. Nils P.  
Lee, Shao Chang  
Lee, Vivian Kekona Kumalae  
Leebrick, K. C.  
Lincoln, Mrs. William Ames  
Loomis, Albertine  
Love, Addison  
Lucas, Mrs. Clorinda Low

MacArthur, D. M.  
Macaulay, Gordon  
McClellan, Edwin North  
McClellan, Mrs. Esther  
Maier, Mrs. Martha M.  
Mann, Mrs. James B.  
Marcus, A. G.  
Marshall, Mrs. Donald C.  
Marx, Benjamin L.  
Mellen, Mrs. George  
Meurlott, Mrs. Louise P. Duvarchelle  
Miranda, George Halualani  
Mist, Herbert W. M.  
Molyneux, Mrs. Arthur V.  
Moore, Francis J.  
Morgan, Mrs. James P.  
Morris, Mrs. Aldyth V.  
Morris, Penrose C.  
Murphy, Thomas D.

Newberry Library  
Nickerson, Thomas

Ohr, Fred  
Oliphant, C. T.

Palmer, Harold S.  
Peterson, Margaret L.  
Pleadwell, Dr. Frank L.  
Podmore, Geoffrey

Podmore, Mrs. Geoffrey  
Poole, Mrs. Alice F.  
Powell, Mrs. Ruth B.  
Prendergast, Eleanor K.  
Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

Radford, Arthur W.  
Rodiek, Eva Anita  
Ross, Mrs. E. A. R.

Sakamaki, Shunzo  
Schaefer, Gustav E.  
Schubert, A. R.  
Scott, Mrs. Ranney  
Shower, Hazen  
Soper, William H.  
Sousa, Mrs. Esther F.  
Spoehr, Alexander  
Stacey, Mary K.  
Stokes, John F. G.  
Stroven, Carl G.  
Sultan, Mrs. Edward D.  
Summers, Mrs. Richard I.  
Swenson, Mrs. Eric P.

Taylor, Mrs. Clarice B.  
Taylor, Stanley S.  
Taylor, William Bishop  
Thurston, Lorin P.  
Titcomb, Margaret  
Tracy, Clifton H.

University of Hawaii Press

Van Dyke, Robert  
Voorhees, George N.

Walker, Dr. Hastings H.  
Watanabe, Shichiro  
Waterhouse, George S.  
Waterhouse, N. Warren  
Watson, Mrs. Lorna K. Iaukea  
Wheeler, Richard H.  
Wiig, Jon  
Williams, Robert T., Sr.  
Winne, Jane L.  
Withington, Mrs. Arthur  
Wodehouse, Cenric N.  
Wodehouse, Ernest H.



## DECEASED

Alexander, Arthur C.  
Gadd, Mrs. Luther  
Grossman, Edward S.

Harris, Wray  
Hunnewell, James M.  
King, Robert D.

Nye, Henry Atkinson

## SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Members of the Society are entitled to receive the current Annual Reports and to purchase all publications at one third discount.

Non-members receive one third discount on bulk purchases of \$15.00 or more.

Sets from 1893 to date, except for a few missing numbers which are now out of print, can be made up. Address inquiries to The Librarian, P.O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii, or telephone 5-7271.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Through the kindness of the authors, the Society is privileged to offer:

*The Kumulipo*, by Martha W. Beckwith, for \$5.00 to members.

*Na Himene Hawaii*, by Ethel M. Damon, for \$1.00.

## MEMBERSHIP DUES

Life Member .....	\$100
Sustaining Member .....	25 a year
Contributing Member .....	10 a year
Regular Member .....	5 a year

Make checks payable to The Hawaiian Historical Society and mail to P. O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii.

Names of persons whose dues are in arrears by more than one year do not appear in the Membership List. Reinstatement may be effected by contacting the Membership Committee.

# MEMBERS OF KAUAI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Compiled February 27, 1954

## OFFICERS

*President* . . . . . ERIC A. KNUDSEN  
*Vice-President* . . . . . MRS. JULIET R. WICHMAN  
*Secretary-Treasurer, Pro-Tem* . . . . . MRS. THELMA H. OVERHOLSER

## HONORARY MEMBERS

*Alexander, Arthur C.	Emory, Kenneth P.
Banks, Miss Rebecca E.	Jackson, Miss Pearl Reed
Buck, Mrs. Margaret	Kuykendall, Prof. Ralph S.
Damon, Miss Ethel M.	Leebrick, Dr. Karl C.

## ANNUAL MEMBERS

Adams, Colonel Frank A.	Danford, A. Harwood
Alexander, William P.	Davis, Miss Barbara
Alexander, Mrs. Alice B.	Eckart, Robert C.
Allport, Mrs. Clarice	Ecklund, Mrs. Klara
Baldwin, Mrs. Kathryn	Faye, Alan E.
Barnes, William S.	Faye, Mrs. Jean B.
Barnes, Mrs. Ruth D.	Faye, Miss Isabel B.
Bishop, Herbert J., Jr.	Fortner, Miss Margaret
Bishop, Mrs. Anna S.	Gay, Roland L.
Boyden, Dr. A. W.	Gay, Mrs. Mary W.
Boyden, Mrs. Eleanor S.	Gillin, E. T.
Brandt, Mrs. Hannah	Gillin, Mrs. Adena
Broadbent, Mrs. Marie	Goodale, Holbrook
Childs, Jr., Clinton	Goodale, Mrs. Nancy S
Conklin, Lloyd O.	Hanner, Mrs. Ruth K.
Corstorphine, James B.	Harker, Charles A.
Cox, Richard H.	Harker, Mrs. Charles A.
Crawford, Frank	Hartman, William A.
Crawford, Mrs. Mary W.	Hensley, Miss Thelma
Cuaresma, Mrs. Consuelo O.	Hobby, Mrs. Eleanor C.
Christopher, C. C.	Hogg, Mrs. Isabelle J.
Christopher, Mrs. Aileen H.	

\* Deceased

I, Gabriel

Kahlbaum, Mrs. Florence  
Knudsen, Eric A.  
Knudsen, Mrs. Hazel  
Knudsen, Valdemar  
Kocher, Albert  
Kocher, Mrs. Albert

Lota, Abraham K.  
Lovell, Enoka  
Lovell, Mrs. Beatrice  
Lyman, Mrs. Helen L.

Makanani, Mrs. Emily  
Mant, Raymond F.  
Mant, Mrs. Raymond F.  
Marcallino, A. Q.  
Marcallino, Mrs. Mina  
Miller, Leslie E.  
Miller, Mrs. Mildred  
Moir, Eric  
Moir, Hector McD.  
Moir, Mrs. Alexandra K.  
Moragne, William M.  
Moragne, Mrs. Jean W.

Ogata, Mrs. Masuo  
Okamura, James T.  
Orrick, Mrs. J. T.  
Overholser, Mrs. Thelma H.

\* Deceased

Plews, Mrs. Edith Rice

Rice, Arthur H., Jr.  
Rice, Mrs. Elizabeth C.  
Rice, Charles A.  
Rice, Paul G.  
Rice, Mrs. Kathryn O.  
Rice, Philip L.  
Rice, Mrs. Flora B.  
Rogers, Alec G.


Sanborn, Walter F.  
Stewart, Mrs. Julia

Thain, James D.

DeVeuve, Miss Laura

Waterhouse, Mrs. Mabel P.  
Wedemeyer, Mrs. Henrietta M.  
Wedemeyer, Henry C.  
Wedemeyer, Mrs. Alice  
Westlake, Mrs. Amanda  
Wichman, Mrs. Juliet R.  
\* Wilcox, Miss Elsie H.  
Wilcox, Mrs. Louise S.  
Wilcox, Miss Mabel I.  
Wilcox, Samuel W.  
Wilcox, Mrs. Edith K.  
Williams, Mrs. Margaret





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